

NEW LOWELL OFFERING



Spring 1977

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LOWELL OFFERING



"Is Saul also among the prophets?"

A REPOSITORY
OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES, WRITTEN BY
"FACTORY GIRLS."

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NEW LOWELL OFFERING

From 1840 to 1845, the "mill girls" of Lowell put their thoughts, their concerns, their dreams on paper, and offered them for others to see in the *Lowell Offering*. Young women, quite conventional, from surrounding towns and farms, still dared to publish stories and articles they had written, dared to write and edit a journal entirely of their own — doing so after working seventy hours a week in the mills! It was a remarkable achievement.

Today, four generations later, the mills are closed, and young women of Lowell look forward to lives they hope will be broader and richer than those of the mill girls, their spiritual, if not literal, forebears. Some of the young women attend the University of Lowell to try and prepare for that future. In the world of the 1970's they are told, "You've come a long way, baby!" But have we?

In the Women's Studies Program at the University of Lowell — which seeks to discover women's hidden history and reveal the origins of issues that concern the woman of today — members of this fourth generation express what is important to them. Unlike the mill girls, they are less accepting of the status quo and of their prescribed role in society; but like the mill girls they are still partially hemmed in by nineteenth century attitudes, often having to struggle to have their ideas and their work taken seriously.

And so, recognizing our debt to the Lowell mill girls of the past, we offer thoughts, concerns, and dreams of women today in the NEW LOWELL OFFERING.

This initial issue, produced by students and faculty at the University of Lowell, presents student articles and artwork. In subsequent issues we hope to broaden our content both as to type and source of contributions. We therefore welcome fiction, poetry, film and music reviews, letters, articles, and artwork from students, staff, faculty, and others in the wider Lowell community. Because the theme of the NEW LOWELL OFFERING is women, and issues and concerns affecting them, we ask that your contributions keep to this theme.

Please do not forget to fill out and return the Reader Survey included in this issue. Results will be published in a subsequent issue. Send all correspondence and material to: NEW LOWELL OFFERING, Mail Room - South Campus, Dugan Hall, University of Lowell. The NEW LOWELL OFFERING will be published twice a year, in the spring and fall, at \$1.00 a copy, \$2.00 subscription per year.

We offer you now our first issue, and welcome your response.

The Editors

MARABEL MORGAN: THE TOTAL SEXIST*

Elizabeth G. Roop

Oh! How superficially blissful is that moment when we can accept, admire, adapt and, of course, appreciate the man for whom we live. How sickening is that old "nicely, nicely" socialized part of myself which wants to believe that total submission of self to another, will solve life's problems.

It would appear that in the 1970's many of those who still seek to solve "the problem that has no name"¹ would rather choose the way of total submission, than total submersion into life. Marabel, the "Total Woman," has been sold down the road of "otherness."² One wonders whether it was "winning" her lawyer husband, or those beauty queen prizes, that convinced her of the rightness of submission. In her books, she continually speaks of the rewards her submission has brought her. Frequently, the rewards take the shape of freezer-refrigerators, new clothes and, of course, romantic love.

Hook, line, and sinker, Marabel has swallowed the dream held out by marketing specialists of our era. Her Total Woman self is embodied in recent ads for Aviance perfume. The Total Wife, who has been working in her little-old-\$50,000-home all day, in her properly faded denim jeans, comes to life when her man comes in the door. He, of course, is appropriately handsome, hip, and continually horny.

Marabel defines men and women in the traditional roles. "Women need to be loved; men need to be admired."³ Throughout her book, Marabel advocates the leadership of men (not to be undermined at any cost). It is the woman's properly submissive and idolatrous attitude which supports the institution of marriage. God and Marabel, that is, for the book is strewn with appropriate quotes from Scripture.

Marabel, in supporting the division of men and women, is supporting the division of labor in our capitalist system. She admits that the work of a materially fortunate lawyer is fraught with degrading competition. Her answer, typical of one who holds so much faith in a benevolent Godhead, is to patch up the broken man. "Love never makes demands. Love is unconditional acceptance of him and

his feelings. He does not need competition at home; he's had that all day at work."⁴

There is, of course, reference to the working wife in Marabel's book. Disappointingly, it suggests that the working wife be especially careful of her husband's delicate masculine ego.⁵ Marabel is so completely oblivious to the possibility that a wife (a Total Woman must be a wife) might be enjoying her work, or might be unable to spend terrific amounts of time and money on her appearance, that our author appears as a frivolous, unrealistic child.

But the innocence of a person who vigorously sells false images to thousands of unhappy women can hardly be considered "nice" at all.

That is why, when you read Marabel's book, you may have the uncomfortable feeling that it has been subsidized by either the Male Supremacy League or an ecumenical council on preserving the Divine Order. This is not to mention the influence of members of the clothing and make-up industry, many psychiatric clinics, or even the Ku Klux Klan.

Marabel sees no relation between the capitalist system and the need for such submission on the part of women. She puts the burden of happiness totally on women. Jessie Bernard in "The Paradox of the Happy Marriage" points out that wives' "marriages are more problem-laden than their husbands'."⁶ Marabel would agree, of course, but would she be willing to accept the fact that "the psychological costs to women of the happiness achieved by adjusting to the demands of marriage have not been inconsiderable"?⁷

In other words, the "home as haven," which is possible only through her admiring, accepting, adapting, and appreciative submission, has resulted in a need, within our present structure of society, to make women sick in order to fit them for marriage.⁸

In another area, Marabel advocates "greeting him at the door, with your hair shining, your beautifully made-up face radiant, your outfit sharp and snappy."⁹ Una Stannard's "The Mask of Beauty" shows the preoccupation with this artificial polish as an essential aspect of our society. The ideal beauties continually held up as examples teach women

*Commentary on Marabel Morgan, *The Total Woman* (New York: Pocket Books, 1975).

that they are articles of conspicuous consumption in the male market. "Every woman in our society...is a flesh-peddler in the harem of this man's world."¹⁰ Is this not the contemptible idea of "marriage as sanctioned prostitution" that Emma Goldman spoke of?¹¹

Even if we could discount the personal expense to women who cling to the rigidity of stereotyped roles, we should consider the implications of such repressive lifestyles for all people. If inequality between male and female is to be maintained, are we not advocating also a system of inequality which is inherent in our economic system? By grasping at the values of beauty and wealth held by our capitalist system, is there not also an advocating of the poverty and misery which so many people endure?

With "sweetness and light," Marabel advocates a totally submissive woman. She points out the importance of admiring, accepting, adapting, and, of course, appreciating her submission. Is this not the often-heard advice of the powerful to those whom they control? She sees her submission only in the light of the subservient marital tradition ordained by God.

Marabel Morgan is a super-sexist. She embraces nearly every institution in our culture which upholds the myth of male supremacy. Marriage, the "home as haven," the strict sense of sex roles, her support of psychiatry for marital problems, the abhorrence of premarital sex, and her admiration of the "sex-kitten" image of Marilyn Monroe, are all allies to her happiness.

Vivian Gornick in *Woman in Sexist Society* sees marriage as the greatest of the sexist institutions. What marriage offers to women like Marabel is security. Within the strict roles Marabel describes, women are a "race of children, a class of human beings utterly deprived of self-hood, of autonomy, of confidence — worst of all, it [sexism] has made the false come true."¹²

In order to oppress women, to make them childlike, men have cut themselves off from certain areas of behavior. Living by such strict roles therefore actually contributes to suppressed behavior and denial of free expression for all family members.¹³

The very strictness of the nuclear family model serves to maintain the oppression of the worker. As the sole support of a family, the male worker's ability to withhold work or to even change work becomes quite inflexible.¹⁴ In this way the power of any woman to truly

affect the members of her family is negated because the money and the lifestyle that the worker participates in are what actually control her—and the family unit.

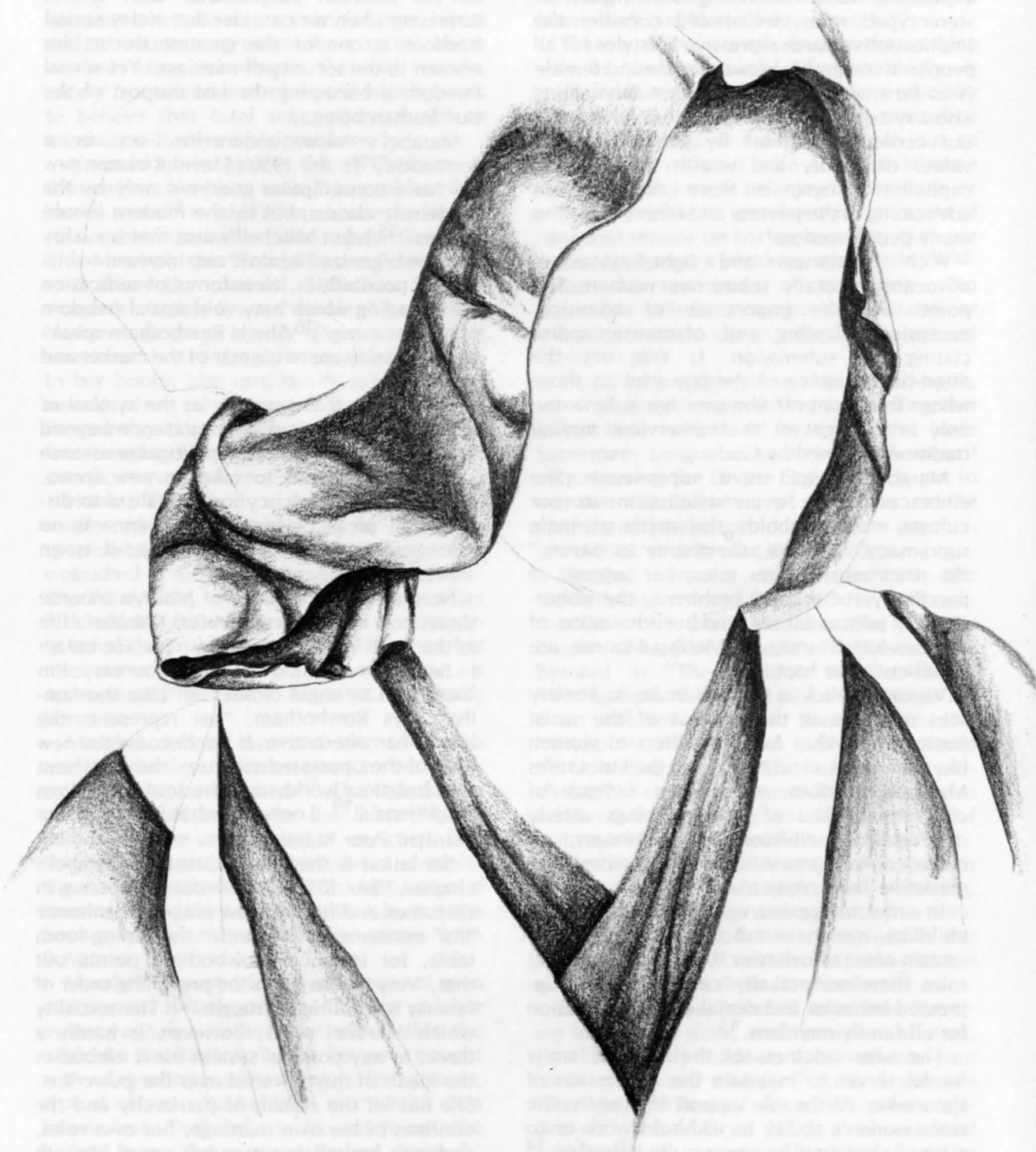
One of the main concerns of Marabel's book is the sexual relation between man and wife. For Marabel, marriage is the only correct place for sex between people. Her view is not surprising when we consider that today sexual freedom is one of the greatest threats for women to the security of marriage. Yet sexual freedom is becoming the last outpost of the true human being.

Marabel's view underwrites sex as a commodity. In the 1950's David Riesman saw sex "as a consumption good not only by the old leisure classes, but by the modern leisure masses."¹⁵ Juliet Mitchell warns that sexuality can "be organized against any increase of its human possibilities. New forms of reification are emerging which may void sexual freedom of any meaning."¹⁶ Sheila Rowbotham speaks of sexual relations as objects of the market and sexual sell.

This means that sexuality as the symbol of the natural assumes an importance beyond itself. It also means that political resistance to capitalism has to take on new forms, because the tendency for capitalism to distort all areas of human experience is no longer merely an abstract idea, it is an everyday happening.¹⁷

Norman Mailer's image of Marilyn Monroe shows how this distortion enters Marabel's life as the Total Woman. "Sex was, yes, ice cream to her. Take me, said her smile, I'm easy. I'm happy I'm an angel of sex."¹⁸ "Like the family," says Rowbotham, "sex represents the hope of an alternative. It has become the new 'sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions'."¹⁹ Look at what sex did for Marilyn! Poor Marabel.

Sensation is the whole thrust of Marabel's chapter, "Sex 201." She advocates dressing in costumes and finding new places to enhance "its" excitement, like under the dining-room table, for instance. Rowbotham points out that, "Any challenge to the prevailing order of fantasy is a political struggle."²⁰ The sexuality which Marabel seeks, however, is hardly a threat to any political system for it embodies the ideals of the powerful over the powerless. She has let the system of patriarchy and the confines of her own marriage, her own roles, and even her religion, turn her sexual life into an object for the hard sell.



If all else fails, in the marriage of a woman's mind to the subjection of her self to the Total Woman, the answer is psychiatry. From "Assignment for Super Sex," "If you feel your situation involves a deeper problem...seek professional help."²¹

Phyllis Chesler correlates the power relationship in marriage with that of the psychotherapeutic relationship. These two institutions support each other. "Both psychotherapy and marriage enable women to safely express and defuse their anger by experiencing it as a form of emotional illness, by translating it into hysterical symptoms."²² Chesler notes that a study of clinical judgments of mental health norms by Broverman, et al., showed that for therapists

healthy mature men do not differ significantly from their concepts of healthy mature adults, but their concepts of healthy mature women do differ significantly from those for men or for adults....women differ from healthy men by being more submissive, less aggressive, less competitive....more emotional...more conceited about their appearance...²³

etc., etc.

If all else fails for Marabel to prove that woman should be submissive, she will turn to the Bible. Her use of religious authority further extends the oppression of women. As Mary Daly points out, Scripture claims the outright subordination of women to men. Second, it promotes the God, "He," as a male symbol of power and dominance. Third, in ignoring such oppressive aspects, Biblical tenets, in effect, condone the oppression of women, and therefore the oppression of all people.²⁴

The popularity of works like *The Total Woman*, with its singular focus and its constant advocacy of the "rightness" of sexist institutions, has disheartening implications. It is possible that the furor it has raised is another manifestation of the force of the patriarchal order that can exalt any evidence of the system's legitimacy. Even so, the very existence of such a book shows how far we as people have to go in order to overcome the fundamentally repressive institutions on which our society is based.

The tenacity with which the Marabel Morgans of our society cling to these institutions is also an indication of how far we have been removed from our own existence. It can only be fearfully devastating to find that you must question those things which you have allowed to define your life. Pity for

Marabel would be possible if it were not for the fact that she contributes so much to a system of institutions which destroy in each of us, some part, and in many of us, the whole person.

Footnotes

¹Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963).

²See Simone deBeauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953) for the concept of woman as "other."

³Morgan, p. 63.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶Jessie Bernard, "The Paradox of the Happy Marriage," *Woman in Sexist Society*, ed. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971) 149.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹Morgan, p. 114.

¹⁰Una Stannard, "The Mask of Beauty," *Woman in Sexist Society*, ed. Gornick and Moran, 195.

¹¹Emma Goldman, "The Traffic in Women," *Red Emma Speaks*, comp. and ed. Alix Kates Shulman (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 143-57.

¹²Vivian Gornick, *Woman in Sexist Society*, ed. Gornick and Moran, p. xx (italics in original).

¹³*Ibid.*, p. xxxi.

¹⁴Margaret Benston, *The Political Economy of Women's Liberation* (Somerville, Mass.: New England Free Press, 1969), p. 20.

¹⁵As quoted in Juliet Mitchell, *Women: The Longest Revolution* (Somerville, Mass.: New England Free Press, n.d.), pp. 22-23.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁷Sheila Rowbotham, *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974), pp. 110-11.

¹⁸Morgan, p. 151.

¹⁹Rowbotham, p. 111.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 112.

²¹Morgan, p. 164.

²²Phyllis Chesler, "Patient and Patriarch: Women in the Psychotherapeutic Relationship," *Woman in Sexist Society*, ed. Gornick and Moran, 373.

²³*Ibid.*, p. 383.

²⁴Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), pp. 19-20.

ACTORS OR PEOPLE—ARE WE FOR REAL?

Monica Whelan Kent

Introduction

"All the world's a stage and each (person) plays many parts...."

In life each of us "acts out" the dramatic and mundane events that comprise our existence in this milieu. Our socialization bears a striking resemblance to a theatrical script. The drama of life commences with birth and the "program" is initiated under the direction of the parents. As a child we learn to play many parts — heroine or hero, villain or victim. As we grow, we play out our "script" within the context of the society in which we live and which sets its own patterns.

It is the purpose of this paper to explore some of the roles that society has decreed for white, middle class women and men in America in the 20th Century. Hopefully, by awareness of our sex-role socialization we can gain the capacity to choose how much we will allow ourselves to be influenced by the factors which we can control. Consciousness of self gives us the power to stand outside the rigid chain of stimulus-response and evaluate its elements. Consciousness of self and freedom go together. The lesser the consciousness of ourselves the lesser the freedom; the more we are controlled by inhibitions and childhood conditioning, the more we are pushed by forces we cannot control.

What is Socialization?

Socialization is also known as "cultural scripting." It is the process of learning the cultural patterns of society. These patterns are determined by the spoken and unspoken assumptions held by the majority of people within the group. The conditioning begins early - the traditions and expectations of the family and neighborhood and the appropriate male/female roles. Through socialization the individual begins to develop the idea of self by becoming conscious of the attitudes of those around.

Traditions, however, die when circumstances change rapidly and individuals experience "cultural shock". Today, many people suffer from culture shock due to the changing concepts of woman's role in the

American community. Many of these stem from the Women's Liberation Movement. The great exodus of women from the home and their changing roles have forced men to re-evaluate their own position in society. Any change in the accepted condition of women affects directly or indirectly man's traditional role. It is because men do not see the advantages of these changes that they resist them. It is necessary to go through a painful loss of identity in order to adjust to new roles, and both men and women fear to break traditions and deal with the unknown.

Early Socialization

We cannot investigate society's influence on women and men unless we look first at its effect on girls and boys. A girl's development into a woman is more continuous and understandable than a boy's development into a man.¹ Girls identify with their mother and are encouraged to learn through imitation of her daily tasks and attitudes. Boys' masculine identification comes through a process of differentiation — they are different from their mother. The child is to be a boy doing things the mother says but doing them in a "manly way."² The urban child's father works away from home where his son cannot participate in or observe his work. Therefore, he is deprived of a tangible male role-model.³ Girls and women "are" while boys and men "do."⁴ Maleness is not absolutely defined; it has to be re-earned every day in the playground and in the office. Forced to develop a sense of self and criteria of worth, the young boy turns to achievement in the outer and real world and begins to value himself in terms of objective criteria.⁵ Femininity, however, is a verbal label. It does not have to be earned. This results in a significant delay in girls searching for identity and development of autonomy and external criteria for self esteem.⁶ The young boy looks toward an open future, doing, creating, risking. The unexpected awaits him. The young girl's destiny is pre-ordained. She will be a wife, mother, grandmother. Her story is already written.⁷ A young woman must struggle to achieve what is her brother's by birth.

Children of both sexes receive principal early approval and disapproval from their mother; thus the "nagging voice of conscience" is feminine in both sexes.⁸ What this means is, in an attempt to gain independence and make decisions on their own, different from their upbringing, the children must consciously and unconsciously reject their mother and people like her. One consequence of the fact that women are the primary socializers for boys (who later become men) is what Horney calls "the dread of women." This dread can be coped with in two ways: 1) To adore and glorify women—"there is no need for me to dread a being so wonderful and so beautiful." 2) The other way is to debase and disparage them—"it would be too ridiculous to dread a creature who is such a poor thing." In both cases she is rendered helpless. It is important for men to gain power and insure that the attributes of power and prestige are masculine, and that their cultural roles are given power and prestige.⁹ For example, in Russia 75% of the physicians are female; however, they have little status.

Male Script Messages

The first five years of life have been called the "magic years." During these years, family influences predominate. As soon as the child goes to school family control decreases and the outside world starts to take over. Typical male American stereotype messages bombard the young from all sides. Be a "strong silent type — chip off the old block, or — big boys don't cry — never ask for help — never let anyone know you're scared — dominate women". A typical male injunction is "don't lose control" and the resulting life course is "never be satisfied". In order to maintain control a man must be "one up" on the rest of the world — aggressive and competitive.¹⁰ The pressure on the man to appear successful compels him to make others appear unsuccessful.¹¹ Enter the winner/loser relationship that carries over to all facets of associating with others. Another typical message men receive is to be "strong, solid and potent" and usually the accompanying clause states that "feelings" and "uncertainty" are weak and unmasculine.¹² We see this in children, boys learning early to be stoic, while little girls have permission to cry. The grownup version is the rock, the man who is consistently in control, one who needs an excuse to relax his grip on himself and the world (the suburban martini

drinker). This injunction works against men seeking help in general as it is only after they have become immobilized or in such pain that a breakdown is imminent that they can sometimes seek assistance. In sexual difficulties "be strong and potent" messages often result in tension and complaints of impotence and premature ejaculation. In this era of sexual freedom for the woman, the traditionally indoctrinated man is placed in a position to produce. In response to an inquiry of men with sexual problems about their experiences in bed, enjoying sexual play without intercourse, a frequent response is one of surprise and confirmation of the fact that they never receive permission not to be potent.¹³ It seems that men have become sexually more passive and apathetic as women become more active and assertive in terms of achieving orgasm.¹⁴ Men fear domination in and out of the bedroom. They fear job loss and economic competition. They fear losing "mother" and the comforts of "motherhood" in their wives. Their fears turn to panic when their identity is under attack, and when the value of their own mother is questioned by women's liberation. As soon as a man defines himself as the only one capable of handling certain situations, of being aggressive, of earning the most money, then a woman who is equally capable in these areas becomes a threat to his very self definition.¹⁵ He is then obliged to defend his position and uses incredible energies to maintain this status quo. When a man spends his life building an expertise, he cannot afford to re-examine his consciousness in a light which may prove him wrong. In a culture where men are supposed to be experts, men have also the most at stake when their expertise is invalidated.¹⁶ The socialization of the American male has closed off certain options for him. Men are discouraged from developing certain desirable traits, such as tenderness and sensitivity, just as women are discouraged from being assertive and too bright. Young boys are encouraged to be incompetent at cooking and child care just as surely as young girls are urged to be incompetent at mathematics and science.¹⁷ The message of "success at all costs" feeds into a number of debilitating patterns for males such as "big man on campus," "Don Juan," "super salesman." These syndromes which emphasize having contacts and being recognized by others influence relationships at all levels.

A man interested only in meeting a challenge or working for elusive approval or

conquering, tends to find himself unable to have a lasting relationship. Loneliness and isolation are typical feelings, as he has not given himself permission to seek the non-public sources of acceptance and love that are found in genuine intimacy. A sense of self-hood is difficult for men to discover as they are not free to be vulnerable or wrong without thinking of themselves as failures. If a man admits that he needs help solving a problem, society castigates him for his weakness (e.g., the disaster befalling Thomas Eagleton or Hubert Humphrey).

Silence is an obvious by-product of the pilgrimage to success. Silent men are difficult to love and reach out to; thus their wall of isolation increases. One of the most insidious and difficult banal male messages is "men are protective of women". Most men in our culture have at least felt the demand to be something of a Sir Walter Raleigh at some time in their lives. When the car door is opened or their cape has been thrown across the puddle, the implicit demand is on the woman to feel protected and become "womanly" so the man can feel "manly" and heroic. As with most behavior based on child fantasies, it seldom works out. The woman is likely to respond with "I can do it myself" or "pick up your cape, I'll just have to wash and iron it later". The man on the other hand has set himself up for feeling resentment at not being appreciated. He has gone out of his way to help and has been rejected. It is this aspect of socialization that is most strongly coming into conflict with the women's liberation movement. Women are saying that they do not want to be protected and treated as non-entities and incompetent; thus the male does not get the expected trade-off of nurturing and praise for his gallantry that he is supposed to get. Women are saying "I can step across the puddle just as well as you and if you want to throw down your cape you can recognize that you are doing it for yourself and not for me". Men are left with a void in their identity and their sense of frustration and fear increases.

Female Script Messages

Young girls are brainwashed, too, and much of what they learn is hard to take. They learn that in social matters, as in sports, girls' rules are different from boys' rules and that girls' accomplishments like girls' sports are very unimportant as compared with those of boys. While boys are often afraid of failing, girls are

afraid of succeeding — "don't be too smart, you'll never catch a man," "men don't like smart women." Popular literature advertising children's books and even textbooks reinforce this bias against women. In the present educational system, the female child is exposed to textbooks elaborating on the achievement and creativity of men. Female interests are typically restricted to domestic settings rarely stressing community recognition, complex problem-solving or exciting activity. Pictures of a male boss dictating while a female secretary writes, of a male physician operating while a female nurse assists, are implicit in exposing what society has come to expect. In games, cooperation is stressed e.g., "playing house" with dolls, ironing boards and little stoves. Aggression, rough play and competition are discouraged. The need to be beautiful "daddy's little girl" is stressed: just be cute and sweet and daddy will take care of you. It can be claimed that men have their own version of "(s)mothering" — revealed in their constant need to protect women. An overprotecting mother finds that her children never grow up, yet the men who most protect their wives are often the ones to wonder why their wives are not growing.¹⁸ It is hard to keep up with the climbing corporate executive when one's daily exposure is limited to laundry, playpens, and roast beef hash!

A woman may educate herself only in order to be a more fit companion to her husband. She may use wealth but not make it; she may learn about independence only so that she can instill it in her male children, urge it in her husband or admire it in other men. In advertising woman is portrayed as adorable in her not very bright submissiveness, charming in her thrill and delight in clean floors and shiny countertops, even forgivable in her failure to overcome "ring around the collar." Since woman is the sexual partner of the dominant class she is expected to be beautiful, sexy and young.

Una Stannard in "The Mask of Beauty,"¹⁹ argues that women's beauty is largely a sham and that women know it. They obediently conform to the nuisances of fashion and cosmetics so as not to be singled out from other women and to be identified as "one of the fair sex." Women are condemned to bring up sons whose sexual identity depends on devaluing femininity as inferior to themselves and daughters who accept this devalued position and resign themselves to producing more men who will perpetuate the system.



Consequence of sex role stereotyping

Obvious benefits for the woman of stereotyped roles, e.g., housewife, include monetary support, relieving her of the pressures of commuting and coping in the business world. This may partially explain why women live longer and have fewer heart attacks and stress related diseases than men. However, women are institutionalized for mental illness more often than men perhaps because housework is repetitious and invisible, with little value and prestige. Many women consider success and femininity to be mutually exclusive and bright women are especially afraid of success due to the negative consequences if they do succeed (as shown in the research done by Matina Horner). Tax laws penalize working wives, banks will not count a wife's income towards a loan or mortgage. Economic restrictions such as "no pay" or "low pay" without the ability to get a loan tend to make women permanent minors not only in their own eyes but in the eyes of society as well. Being a sex object or not being one is dehumanizing. However, a woman is a sex object as a man is a security object, for a man is expected to be a good provider for his wife and children, reliable, hard working and achieving. He must sacrifice his leisure and his time at home, even his health, to his career. Property is a measure of his worth. Men who climb the pinnacle of success can run the nation's government, corporations, and universities. They control the legal and social powers that are denied to women and children. Men have more opportunities. They can display their initiative and independence and expect to succeed. Boys may learn to be tough and "take it" on the outside, but the male ego remains fragile under the enormous pressures that are continuously present.

Unfortunately, most men spend their lives trying to answer the question, "How can I fulfill society's expectations of me?" instead of asking "How can it fulfill my expectations of me?" Part of the whole liberation movement is breaking down stereotyped roles so that men, too, can gain freedom to change places with women or switch jobs without risking the entire family income. It means allowing men to have the freedom to get in touch with their nurturing instincts, to devote more time to their children, to have less anxiety about their sex role, to expand their boundaries and find security in their true identity as human beings.

Conclusion

Our remarkable civilization is a male creation—at least they would have us think so. Thanks to a blackout of feminist history only a few "token women" are mentioned in school texts and required readings. Most people know nothing about Prudence Crandall, Fanny Wright or the Grimke sisters. For every Madam Curie, Florence Nightingale and Eleanor Roosevelt there are innumerable women thinking, working, living and dying, influencing history in obvious and subtle ways, unheralded and unsung. Women have maintained the race and performed what sex-patterned work they could. Men have dominated social patterns, living standards, economic practices, education systems, and women, too. Men's sex needs and their superior strength have not changed. How much help women need from men has changed. Though Bruno Bettelheim informs us that the vast majority of women have shown unmistakably that they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and mothers,²⁰ he fails to acknowledge that this is a convenient, male-oriented point of view. A commonly held belief is that women are free to choose whatever role they prefer. However, what is not so readily mentioned is that the choices are predetermined. With increasing awareness women can now trade slavery for self-hood and gain society's approval also in the process. The role of an enlightened home economist can be as vital and important to future generations as that of an industrial ecologist.

The point is that our society is managing to consign a large segment of its population to the role of homemaker solely on the basis of sex, just as inexorably as it has in the past consigned the individual with black skin to the roles of janitor or domestic. It is not the quality of the role itself which is at issue here, but the fact that in spite of their unique identities, the majority of American women end up the same role.²¹

It is important for women to think clearly and be able to sort out that which is unchangeable reality from that which is no longer valid. As they try to do this they are all handicapped by the part they play in the very problems with which they are struggling. They are handicapped further by the extraordinary complexity of those problems involving not only the intricacies of human

interrelationships but also male-female conflict of interest. Women must readjust in the world today, both as female creatures involved with and potentially controlled by men and as intelligent, active human beings. They must assume the responsibility for their decisions and stop looking to men for approval or answers they are incapable of giving. Men's tendency is to treat female unhappiness as a disease of the woman's own making. They come on as experts (or worse-surrogate fathers), a role fostering dependency and helplessness. They also tend to take the exceptionalistic rather than the universalistic approach: i.e., that unhappiness (or neurosis) can be relieved by individual rather than collective efforts — back to blaming the victim rather than society. Society is the fortress sanctioning men's ability to manipulate power. Barbara Polk in her article "Male Power and the Women's Movement"²² sums up the sources of men's power that women need to be aware of as major influences in their life experience. The insidious attitude that men are viewed as the norm immediately places women in a devalued position. Men's ability to manipulate major institutions in our culture, such as the media, education, law, politics and religion, reinforces public attitudes and practice. Because of their domination in these fields, they remain the "experts" and continue to promulgate their own interests. Because they are powerful and always "right" they maintain an important psychological influence over women. The threat of their physical strength is another form of intimidation restricting women's autonomy and mobility.

Social economy would now seem to dictate that women be encouraged to use their brains and talent. Women need to find strength in one another, to identify discrimination and take legal action, to challenge the media and influence public opinion, to press for new laws and reinforcement of the old ones. What is happening in some instances is that women look at the odds against them and give up trying. They are aware of their real time/work handicap and the resistance of men whose good will they want and feel they need to keep. However, if women are to free themselves from the chains that fetter them, then they are to look to other women for support. One way to do this is in a conscious-

ness-raising group; another and most important step is to develop an intimacy with oneself. Women should be able to ask and find answers to questions such as, What kind of person am I? Where did I get my ideas about myself? Where am I going in my life? Where do I want to go? How can I best get there? Women need to realistically reevaluate their own needs and potentialities, and then take action to accomplish the necessary changes.

The main key to people liberation is a willingness to share the responsibility for raising children, to destroy the motherhood myth. Our culture teaches women, discourages men, and then claims that the instinct for parenting is unique to the female. Men need the chance to reacquire themselves with the joys of fatherhood as much as women need the fulfillment of work outside the home. Some suggestions that would enable this to come about would be: a shortened work week, with staggered hours which would allow business a full utilization of their facilities; a 2 for 1 or 3 for 2 flexy job where the employer would have coverage to get the job done and the people involved would have time off to live; a homemaker payment for work done in the house; paternity leave; education for women in the fields that are now dominated by men; education for men who find that they might enjoy cooking, expressing emotion and asking for help; provision of unisex toys and books showing equal involvement of girls and boys; involvement of more men in nursery and elementary schools; education for everyone in birth control; investigation into the reversibility of vasectomies and tubal ligation, with help to overcome the psychological effects of sterility; changing the image of aggression, war, crime, violence on T.V. and in the media; law suits and complaints to federal, state and local agencies.

Any stereotyping is imposing values. Human liberation means options at an early age so that the environment is not used to impose certain values on girls and others on boys. Socialization does not have to freeze men and women into archaic patterns. We can find freedom and determine the course of our own life plan, then rewrite the drama in accordance with our own uniqueness. We can recognize our potential and refuse to adhere to any framework that does not encourage humanness.

Footnotes

- ¹Nancy Chodorow, "Being and Doing: A Cross Cultural Examination of the Socialization of Males and Females," *Woman in Sexist Society*, ed. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1972), 271.
- ²Margaret Mead, *Male and Female* (New York: William Morrow, 1949), p. 167.
- ³Chodorow, p. 271.
- ⁴Karen Horney, "The Dread of Women," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 13 (1932), 359.
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- ⁶*Ibid.*, p. 228.
- ⁷Simone deBeauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 287.
- ⁸Mead, p. 298.
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- ¹⁰Brian Allen, "Liberating the Man Child," *Transactional Analysis Journal*, 3 (1973).
- ¹¹Warren Farrell, *The Liberated Man* (New York: Bantam Books, 1957), p. 57.
- ¹²Herbert J. Hamsher, "Male Sex Roles: Banal Scripts," *Transactional Analysis Journal*, 2 (1973).
- ¹³*Ibid.*
- ¹⁴Ralph Greenson, M.D., "What's Happening to Masculinity in the United States?" *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality*, 2 (1968), p. 36.
- ¹⁵Farrell, p. 8.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 62.
- ¹⁷Sandra Bem and Daryl Bem, "Case Study of a Non-conscious Ideology: Training Woman to Know Her Place," *Female Psychology: The Emerging Self*, ed. Sue Cox (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 91.
- ¹⁸Farrell, p. 72.
- ¹⁹Una Stannard, "The Mask of Beauty", *Woman in Sexist Society*, ed. Gornick and Moran, 187.
- ²⁰Bruno Bettelheim, *Symbolic Wounds; Puberty Rights and the Envious Male* (New York: The Free Press, 1954), p. 45.
- ²¹Bem and Bem, pp. 185-186.
- ²²Barbara Polk, "Male Power and Women's Movement," *Female Psychology: The Emerging Self*, ed. Cox, 404-06.

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SEXISM IN CONTEMPORARY LYRICS: THE GRATEFUL DEAD AND THE JEFFERSON STARSHIP

Larry A. Seely

Initially, I had planned to look for sexism in contemporary lyrics as they might show males calling for sexual subservience in the female. I started with the "top forty" disco songs on the radio today. However, after going over only a few songs, I realized how blatant their message of sexual subservience was. Since I was interested in discovering more subtle ways contemporary lyrics might try to control and reinforce women's roles, I turned to other music to analyze. I chose musicians who came from the sixties' counter-culture movement who still write today. Because these musicians came out of a political movement, I thought I might find in their lyrics more subtle examples of male-female power relationships. I did.

Two groups which survive from those early days and attract large followings are Jefferson Starship, formerly Jefferson Airplane, and the Grateful Dead. I found sexism in the lyrics of both groups. However, with the Grateful Dead, there was a progression to non-sexist or less sexist lyrics over time; with the Jefferson Starship there was not.

Sexism occurred in the earlier songs of the Grateful Dead particularly when they tried to show that women had the power role. One such song is "Dupree's Diamond Blues," lyrics by Robert Hunter.¹ A father is telling his son the story of Dupree in an effort to explain to him the way life is. He tells how Dupree got "Those jelly-roll blues" and went out with a gun to get "Baby" the gold diamond ring she wants "more than any old thing." Dupree robs the jewelry store and kills the clerk, and the father explains:

Well, you know son,
You just can't figure
First thing you know
You're going to pull the trigger.
And it's no wonder your reason rolls bad
Jellyroll will drive you stone mad.²

Dupree gets caught and receives the death penalty, and says,

Baby's going to weep it up for awhile
Then go out and get another sweet man
Going to treat her with style.³

Dupree, finding out the judge knows Baby,
tells the judge,

You got to admit
That sweet, sweet jelly's so good.⁴

The father closes with:

Same old story
And I know it's been told,
Some like jelly, jelly,
Some like gold.
Many a man's done a terrible thing
Just to get Baby a shiny diamond ring.⁵

This song equates sexual pleasure with an exchange of material possessions. It does not deal with love at all. The relationship described shows the female as the corrupting element; yet the use of the word "Baby" puts the male in the power position. The male wants the excuse that the murder was the female's fault and that what put her at fault was the sexual pleasures she rendered in return for the "shiny diamond ring."

But the relationship between Baby and Dupree is not the most sexist implication of the song. Rather, it is that a father is telling his son this is the way life is: that the son should be careful getting what a woman wants — material goods — but that getting what you want from the woman is worth the risk of losing your life.

Another Grateful Dead song following the same idea is "Money Money," lyrics by Weir and Barlow.⁶ "Money Money" also deals with women out after material possessions and the man's willingness to get them so he may have access to the woman's body.

She say, "Money, honey," I'd rob a bank.
I just load my gun and mosey down to the
bank,
Knockin' off my neighborhood savings and
loan
To keep my sweet chiquita in eau de
Cologne.⁷

The woman asks for material goods and the man fears not receiving affection if the woman's wants aren't fulfilled. This point is further emphasized by



Now some folks say
The best things in life are free,
But I sure don't get no loving
Living honestly.⁸

Physical love is one of the good things in life, but it has to be paid for the same as other good things, like eau de Cologne. But in this song the blame is not laid directly on one woman but on women as a whole, or even the women's movement:

Lord made lady out of Adam's rib
Next thing you know you got Women's Lib.⁹
These lines demonstrate great ignorance of the women's movement. Feminists want to do away with material payoffs for sex, and with sexual submission.

Weir and Barlow close the song by truly objectifying women:

Lovely to look upon
Heaven to touch;
It's a real shame

They got to cost so much.¹⁰
Power still belongs to the males.

There are other songs of the Grateful Dead that don't try to claim women are in a power position. But they unconsciously show men in such positions. These songs are even more sexist because they don't attack women, but just show and therefore reinforce the accepted male-female power relationship.

One such song is "New, New Minglewood Blues," written by McGannahan Skjellyfetti¹¹ (I assume a pseudonym for various members of the Grateful Dead). "New, New Minglewood Blues" depicts a man, rough and ready, who sees women as the property of other men:

I was born in the desert
Raised in the lion's den,
My number one occupation
Was stealing women from their men.¹²

He does not win the women over, but steals them by whatever power it is that he has. They then become his possessions.

I walk downtown, you know,
Those women sure look good.¹³

It is women's physical attractiveness that inspires and induces him to commit these thefts to satisfy his sexual appetite.

Another such song is "Till the Morning Comes," written by Robert Hunter.¹⁴ A man says to a woman,

Tell you what I'll do;
I'll watch out for you.
You're my woman now,
Make yourself easy.¹⁵

The woman is the man's possession. He tells her not to worry "her pretty little head," as the

cliche goes, over any trouble because he takes care of his possessions. Therefore, the woman can "make herself easy," rest assured in the thought that someone else is doing her thinking for her. But the phrase could mean in addition "make yourself easy" for sex, a demand for sexual subservience. In these two songs, although the power setup is clear, there is nothing to alert the listener that these are sexist situations.

This brings me to the final group of songs that the Grateful Dead perform. These songs don't seem to contain any sexism, for the songs themselves deal with reevaluating the present system and the power arrangements existing in love and other relationships.

For example, in "Box of Rain," lyrics by Robert Hunter,¹⁶ one individual isn't dictating to another:

Maybe you're tired and broken,
Your tongue is twisted with words half
spoken
And thoughts unclear.
What do you want me to do, to do for you,
To see you through?¹⁷

Here it is obvious that one individual wants to help another by doing what that individual sees as being beneficial to him/her. There is no mention of a sex. However, the next line brings love to bear on the aid being offered:

A box of rain will ease the pain
And love will see you through.¹⁸

According to some feminists, the mention of love would make the song sexist because of the nature of love in our society. "Love promotes vulnerability, dependence, possessiveness, susceptibility to pain, and prevents the full development of woman's human potential by directing all her energies outward in the interests of others."¹⁹ The same sexist arrangement presented by the lyrics of the previous songs would be repeated. Awareness stops short, preventing the circle of sexism from being broken.

The same writer, Robert Hunter, may have been able to achieve enough awareness to transcend the circle, as in the lyrics of "Ariel."²⁰ He states quite plainly.

Love's to love
And not to chain.²¹

He means love itself is different from what our society envisions it as being. If we could realize this true meaning of love, then individuals would not be bound to one another, and one basis for sexism would disappear.

But Hunter is still worried about how to

achieve awareness about love:

If I had the sense to know
Which things count and which are show,
I'd hold up fate in my hands
Instead of all these chains and bands.²²

In the Jefferson Starship I have seen no such progression away from sexism. Even though the group has always been considered politically radical, both their earlier songs and their most recent ones contain the same sexist ideas. Their political radicalism may give their songs a more sexist effect than those of other groups since people, seeing alternative views of society through their lyrics, may also see male sex dominance as the natural order of things.

In "Feel So Good," by Jorma Kaukonen,²³ love is set up as the only way for growth to be accomplished:

Ain't no lie,
If you go
I won't die,
Sure won't grow.²⁴

But then he automatically associates love with physical pleasure:

Sets me free
With her motion,
Rolls me 'round
Like the ocean.²⁵

It is this kind of pleasure that he worries about getting from the woman and at the same time seems to show no feeling for her pleasure:

I can't wait to get some more
Of what that girl's got to give.
Living without her's like loving a wall
And that ain't no way to live.²⁶

The female, then, is treated only as an object of a man's sexual desire.

But what seems to me to exhibit sexism even more is the fact that a female can write lyrics just as sexist. In "A Child Is Coming," by Grace Slick,²⁷ the woman tells her husband that she's having a baby:

I got a surprise for you:
A child is coming,
A child is coming to you.²⁸

Implied here is that although the woman has the burden of carrying the unborn child, the child is not hers but belongs to the man. Later in the song she refers to the unborn child as "him," although the child actually turned out to be a girl. This, to me, reinforces a prevalent belief that male children are superior to female children.

In another song, "Look at the Wood," also by Grace Slick a year later,²⁹ she repeats the view that the child belongs to the man and not

the woman,

He had a new woman
Every five years
Faithful to each in her turn.
They gave him children
And time to smile,
And he showed them all
The love they could learn.³⁰

These words also imply that the woman, and the children, too, exist only through the male, and thus they are objects to him.

Two years later, Grace Slick again reinforces the belief that without men women don't exist totally. It is through men that women are able to find reassurance for their existence, and this reassurance is accomplished through physical pleasure. This is shown in "Across the Board."³¹

You're not guilty
You can't even move
Without a human hand;
You can't cock yourself, woman,
You need a man.

All the way you need him
All the way across the floor
All the way across the board
Seven inches of pleasure
Seven inches going home.³²

The woman's body is the domain of the male.

These examples show the differences between the Jefferson Starship and the Grateful Dead. While the Grateful Dead became aware of sexism over the years and started to write non-sexist lyrics, the Jefferson Starship seemed unaware of sexism, or did not see it as a problem. Jefferson Starship portrayed the existing male-female relationship as natural and one that will survive no matter what the social organization.

Footnotes

¹"Dupree's Diamond Blues," AOXOMOXOA (Warner Brothers Records, copyright 1971).

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶"Money Money," *Grateful Dead from the Mars Hotel* (Grateful Dead Records, copyright, 1974).

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰*Ibid.*

11 "New, New Minglewood Blues," *Grateful Dead* (Warner Brothers Records, copyright, n.d.).

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

14 "Till the Morning Comes," *American Beauty* (Warner Brothers Records, copyright, 1970).

15 *Ibid.*

16 "Box of Rain," *American Beauty*.

17 *Ibid.*

18 *Ibid.*

19 "The Feminists: A Political Organization to Annihilate Sex Roles," *Radical Feminism*, ed. Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, Anita Rapone (New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co., 1973), 375.

20 "Ariel," *Tiger Rose* (Round Records, copyright 1975).

21 *Ibid.*

22 *Ibid.*

23 "Feel So Good," *Bark* (Afterthought Production Corp., copyright 1971).

24 *Ibid.*

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*

27 "A Child Is Coming," *Blows Against the Empire* (RCA Records, copyright 1970).

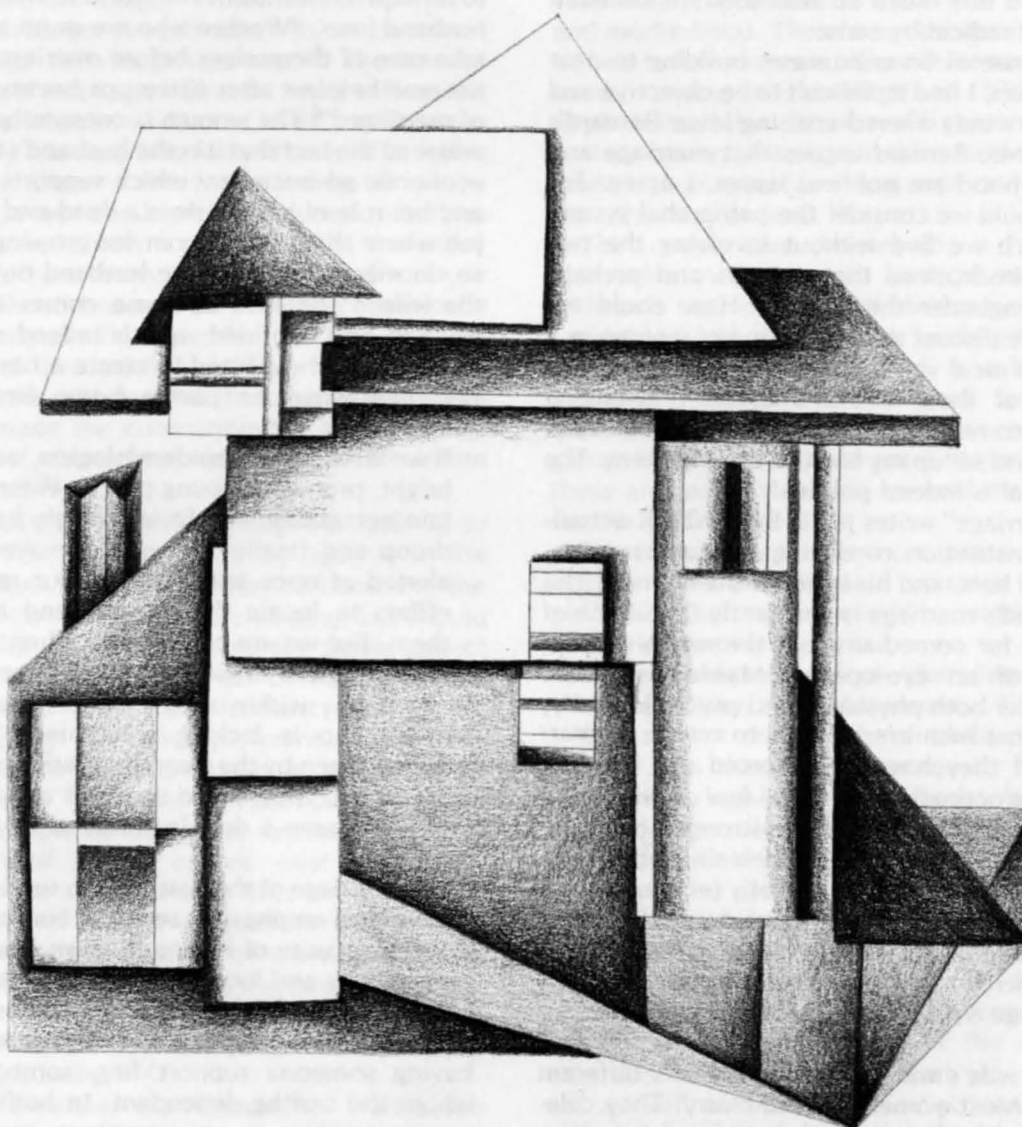
28 *Ibid.*

29 "Look at the Wood," *Sunfighter* (Afterthought Production Corp., copyright 1971).

30 *Ibid.*

31 "Across the Board," *Baron von Tollbooth and the Chrome Nun* (Grunt Records, copyright 1973).

32 *Ibid.*



THE FUTURE OF MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD*

Judie Carmichael

I had no preconceived ideas about Jessie Bernard's books, although I will admit that the cover of *The Future of Marriage* gave me some idea that in her I had found someone who could express the feelings which have only recently surfaced from within me. Just a few short years ago I thought of the women's liberation movement as a group of frustrated spinsters who were unable to "catch" husbands. I never would have believed that I would have changed this much so that today I am even labeled radical by some.

Because of an enthusiasm building to near explosion, I find it difficult to be objective and not too windy when discussing Jessie Bernard's ideas. Ms. Bernard argues that marriage and motherhood are political issues. I agree. For how could we consider the patriarchal system in which we live without involving the two major institutions that support and perhaps even engender the system? How could we possibly discuss the oppression of women in a non-political vein? I found myself in so many pages of these books that, after awhile, I began to realize some might think I had read them and set up my lifestyle around them. The personal is indeed political.

"Marriage" writes Jessie Bernard, "is actually an institution consisting of two marriages, his and hers, and his is better than hers."¹ The husband's marriage is constantly the source of humor for comedians, but the real picture is more of an eye-opener. Married men are healthier both physically and psychologically, and most men are anxious to return to marriage if they have been forced out of it by divorce or death.² There are few drawbacks to marriage for men. They are stronger, healthier and better cared for than their single brothers. With the exception of a totally (economically) dependent wife (a dwindling commodity), and perhaps the narrow choice of a sex partner (but there have always been ways out of that), marriage is perhaps the best possible world for men.

The wife's marriage is a completely different story. Most women want to marry. They celebrate with showers and engagement parties.

When was the last time you saw a group of women taking a bride-to-be out for her last fling at a stag party? The woman has landed her catch, so to speak, and so the "gaiety" begins. But does it? Statistics show the mental health of married women is poorer than that of both men and unmarried women. Marriage literally makes women sick.³

As the woman has been conditioned to believe that she would marry, she also learns to reshape herself to fit the world in which her husband lives. "Women who are quite able to take care of themselves before marriage, may become helpless after fifteen or twenty years of marriage."⁴ The woman is constantly made aware of the fact that it is the husband's role in economic advancement which supports them, and her role of housewife is a dead-end job: a job where there is no room for growing. And so, in many marriages the husband outgrows the wife.⁵ The wife at home comes to feel isolated and confined, which indeed she is, but she is still expected to create a haven for her man when he comes home from the "jungle."

If we were in fact epidemiologists, and saw bright, promising young people enter a certain occupation and little by little begin to droop and finally succumb, we would be alerted at once and bend all our research efforts to locate the hazards and remove them. But we are complacent when we see what happens to women in marriage.⁶

To be happy within such confines, means a woman who is lacking something. "If we judged women by the standards with which we judged men, they would show up as far from well....we have a double standard of mental health."⁷

The marriage of the past, and to some extent the present, emphasizes security. For the man, it is the security of having his own woman to care for him and look up to him, to have and care for his children and his other "properties." For the woman, it is the security of having someone support her, someone on whom she can be dependent. In both cases, companionship is an important secondary

*Jessie Bernard, *The Future of Marriage* (New York: Motherhood (New York: Dial Press, 1974).

Bantam Books, 1973); *The Future of*

element. Unfortunately, in this situation there is little or no room for individual growth. The marriage of the future lies in this realm of individual growth and freedom, and sharing equally.

The contract marriage may be the answer for some, that is, contracting marriage for a specified length of time, with the choice of renewing the contract or not when the contract period ends. The modern bride and groom realize that the "obey" and "til death do us part," are no longer realistic terms. They are following tradition by submitting to the marriage ceremony, but the vows become the words of the individual participant. Today, "emotion at a high pitch, for however long it lasts, is valued more than more equable emotion over a lifetime."⁸ Yet today marriage is potentially longer because the two people involved live longer. "Nowadays, people have a much longer time in which to discover how unhappy their marriages are."⁹ The intense reality of marriage, however, never softens the emotional pains of divorce, even for those unhappily married who know there is no other choice. There is always the feeling of failure, because we have been conditioned to believe in accomplishment. Unfortunately, too many women have been ill-prepared for divorce or widowhood because they were economically and emotionally dependent on one man for most of their adult life. "The measure of joy which the partners brought to each other when they made the commitment is a measure of the grief which they bring to each other when it ends."¹⁰

As long as women are taught to look up to men, how can there ever be equality in the marriage? The power of the husband and the weakness of the wife are changing, but should the roles reverse, or should the power aspect disappear altogether? Ms. Bernard commits herself to a modern feminist position by stating that her "own preference lies in the direction of the downgrading of power in either sex."¹¹ Women can gain power in marriage simply by being less dependent. Equalization of power cannot exist when one partner in a relationship lives off the other. The human animal, as Charlotte Perkins Gilman said three-quarters of a century ago, is the only species in which the female depends on the male for existence. "She gets her living by getting a husband. He gets his wife by getting a living."¹²

While neither Ms. Bernard or I advocate total unisex, she points out that if more

"masculine" traits were available in females, and vice versa, what a nice world it would be. "A combination of the characterizing traits of men and women results in the most attractive human types of either gender as both companions and sex partners."¹³

Men have, of course, perpetuated the myth of their own superiority, and who can blame them? They have been on top. Why should they want to change places with women? Men have to be acculturated to share the life they are now accustomed to, with women. The change to equality in status and the more difficult step of stamping out the power drive in both sexes are concepts still too difficult for many to grasp.¹⁴

Should one choose not to marry, what are the alternatives? Why should women marry simply because there is nothing else to do? Women are socialized to believe in marriage and motherhood. Therefore, perhaps it would be best to have women follow these socialized needs, viewing early marriage and childrearing as phases and then later becoming committed to their careers. Marriage in this case would be made to adjust to career patterns rather than the other way around.¹⁵

The cooperative household is another alternative to the present form of marriage. Although not ideal for all, for some it is a favorable trend: many of the "male prophets" quoted by Ms. Bernard find it a realistic alternative. Many men also look favorably toward wife-swapping, group marriages, polygamy, and similar experimental lifestyles. But these are male fantasies, not realistic trends for the future.

The female prophet is more practical and open-minded. Ms. Bernard commits herself politically (in my opinion) by stating her choice of prophets as

the radical women of the Female or Women's Liberation Movement....Their targets are not only all the disabilities structured into the wife's marriage by biblical tradition, legislation or common law, but also by the male morality and values which govern her marriage.¹⁶

Women today are picking up where their grandmothers left off. This resurrection of the movement recaptures ground lost during the generation before ours. Not all modern feminists conform to the same viewpoints, but each respects the ideology of the others. Liberation today is "freedom from psychological as well as from legal or political constraints, freedom from the pressures...[that]

force certain life patterns on women."¹⁷ Liberation means a choice for women which did not exist before. The old stereotypes no longer impose themselves on women. Liberation doesn't mean freedom from men, but freedom from these stereotypes. "Both men and women are oppressed by a culture and a heritage that mutilates the relationships possible between them."¹⁸

Some of the female prophets are anti-marriage. They would have women live like nuns, without sex or male companionship. A radical view, but for a few it is a possibility. Marriage is seen as a support of the status quo. The wife, comforting her husband when he returns to the haven, helps to perpetuate the real exploiters, the capitalist employers.¹⁹ So perhaps, the old, but new, alternative to marriage is non-marriage. Women today, more and more, are coming to admire and envy their single sisters.

The goal of women today is personhood. Women have made it clear that marriage in the traditional sense will never be the same again. Many are achieving this personhood through sisterhood, a powerful and revolutionary role.²⁰ In the past women were not encouraged to confide in other women. They were taught to fear the gossip and humility facing them if their confidences were betrayed. As Emma Goldman said, "Women will be free only by trying to learn the meaning and substance of life and freeing herself from public opinion and public condemnation."²¹ Women have found each other in what has become a national conscience-raising, the women's movement.²² Women realize that they are sharing the same problems and are giving each other the needed support to do something about the parts of their lives which are troubling them. The important thing is to make this way of living contagious, not only to other women, but to men as well. This is a prerequisite for role-sharing.

New lifestyles must emerge so that role-sharing can be implemented to its full extent. If we lean to role reversal, with women taking the role of the "breadwinner" and men at home, true equality would still not exist. Role-sharing is difficult for the average family with children, for the present economic system makes it difficult for the average woman to earn as much money as a man. Until women are paid equally, it will be advantageous for the woman to "allow" the man to be the main wage earner. Then, of course, there will always be those "work-intoxicated

men," and women who only want their traditional roles and will fight against giving them up.²³ Sharing will provide more independence for women but, more important, less responsibility for men. This latter concept will make the new lifestyle more desirable for both sexes. For many, then, role-sharing would not only make a better marriage, but also a better life. One must caution, however, that "the shared role pattern may solve some of its [marriage's] dilemmas, but certainly not all....It can help."²⁴

In summing up Ms. Bernard's view on the future of the institution of marriage, I have found reform is her key more than revolution. She has, however, presented in both books a totally objective view of the more revolutionary forces of the movement today. In fact, the more radical feminists are her choice for a more realistic view of the future. The pendulum must swing far to one side to counteract the past. But Jessie Bernard does not feel that marriage will fade away. It may change its form, but some form of commitment will be available, with more marital options from which to choose.²⁵ "We should speak then not of the future of marriage, but of marriage in the future."²⁶

What, then, of motherhood in the future? Some of the greatest joys of my life have come from my children. But as I sit here trying to write this essay, I have been interrupted three times by various "catastrophes" in the last five minutes. Having been brought up to believe in motherhood, non-motherhood just never seemed an option to me. I intend to make sure those options are open to my daughters.

I don't feel alone in my attack on motherhood. Recently, Ann Landers conducted an anonymous poll which revealed that 70% of those who responded regretted having had children.²⁷ If more women were able to think and speak freely, more would admit that motherhood is not the joyous fulfillment pictured on a box of "Ivory Snow." People are taught to believe in the American flag, democracy, apple pie, and motherhood. Some American beliefs deny options. They are the pillars on which America stands. Rubbish! They are the methods men have used "to keep women in their place." Fortunately, there are women like Jessie Bernard, whose work lets women like me realize that we are not perverted.

Motherhood, as we know it today, is a fairly new model. It is a product of the affluent society in which we live. In the past women

were too valuable a commodity to be spared exclusively for the care of children.²⁸ The new lifestyle for mothers is built on isolation. In the past, large groups or families lived in tight knit communities. Now, society strives for individualism. And it is precisely this concept which started the form of isolation in which women live. The home became a "walled garden"²⁹ for the man of the house. Here he could be himself, here he needn't compete. No one would dare usurp his authority. He could slave at labor all day, but here in his home, he was king.³⁰ For this reason, the woman had to be home waiting for the "master" to return. The mother and wife of the house was a truly altruistic role for women.³¹ Unfortunately, this garden for men became a prison for women. Everything that went wrong with this picture, including her all important product, the child, was blamed on her. The woman became so aware of what she should produce, that in some cases she over-emphasized her role, producing what some call "smother love."³²

What does it mean to be a mother? It has been suggested that the best mothers are those with no children. One also does not have to bear children to be a mother. Single parenthood is on the rise, not only from a rising divorce rate and unwed mothers, but through adoption as well. Why are some women, then, so anxious to become mothers through childbearing? Men tell us it's maternal instinct. Ms. Bernard tells us it is institutional pressures and animal instinct which makes women mothers.³³ Nurture may be an admirable quantity, but it doesn't mean you want the full responsibility of a child.³⁴ What women resent is not having a choice, feeling they *must* have children. I can't tell you how many times I have heard women say that the nicest part of being a grandmother is in knowing the baby will be going home after the visit. If these women resent motherhood this much, perhaps they should not have had children. Some women are more loving than others. No one would force all women into the same occupation; why then do we force all women to feel they should at all costs bear children?³⁵ Non-motherhood should be an available option for all women. In this, I am not speaking of anti-natalism, in which laws restrict those who may have children and how many one can have. Non-motherhood is simply another of the guidelines available for the female who chooses, for whatever reasons,

not to reproduce.³⁶ When a woman feels she has no choice and must have a child, she will never stop resenting that child. An unwanted child senses the feelings of the mother. The entire family is forced into a distressing emotional situation, one in which all parties, and particularly the child, suffer.³⁷

The politics of motherhood involves two particular areas: research on motherhood done almost entirely by women, and population policy, dominated by men.³⁸ Governments, for example, will seek to control population, such as by raising or lowering the number of children allowed in each family. In the United States today, we punish non-motherhood "through such provisions as: high taxes on single individuals, tax deductions for children, provision of public housing and public assistance only for those families with children and many more."³⁹ True, these are needs being supplied to those women who have undertaken the task of raising children. But doesn't such policy also work against the option of non-motherhood?

In both action and research, the women's movement today has raised issues relating to motherhood once hidden in a Victorian-minded society. Abortion and rape were whispered, if mentioned at all. But now, "here was consciousness raising on a national level. It could not help but reverberate on the future of motherhood."⁴⁰

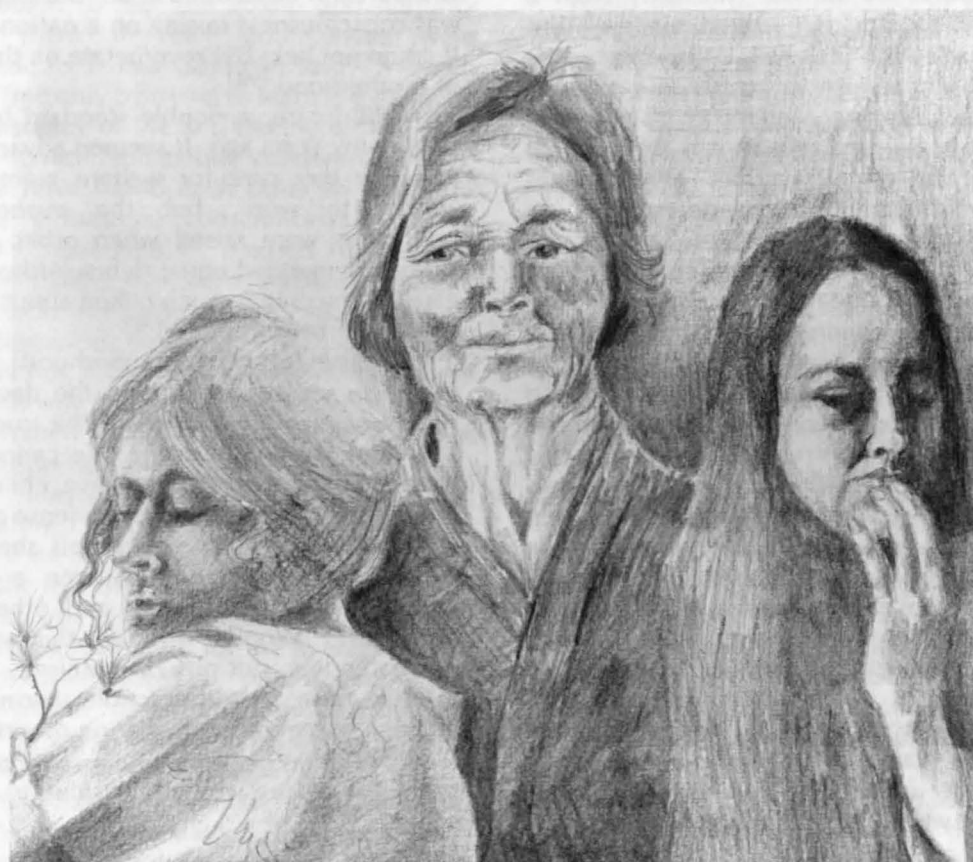
In child care, a double standard began to exist many years ago. It seemed advantageous to allow day care for welfare women who wished to work, but the eyebrows of politicians were raised when other working women demanded equal rights. Although day care has become a much talked about issue, it still hasn't been resolved.⁴¹

With the future of motherhood, as with marriage, we are faced with the decision of reform or revolution. Perhaps the true answer is reform via revolution.⁴² We cannot force women to have or not to have children. In many cases, motherhood is a defense against a world in which the woman feels she cannot cope. Motherhood can become a defense against uninteresting work and other social pressures.⁴³ Women who feel this way need understanding, not pity or criticism.

Once again, we return to role-sharing: a new balance of parenthood, sharing of virtues and love.⁴⁴ Herein lies one answer to motherhood in the future, but we will continue to look for others.

Footnotes

- ¹Bernard, *The Future of Marriage*, p. 15.
- ²*Ibid.*, pp. 17-20.
- ³*Ibid.*, p. 29.
- ⁴*Ibid.*, p. 43.
- ⁵*Ibid.*, 48.
- ⁶*Ibid.*, p. 53.
- ⁷*Ibid.*, p. 57.
- ⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.
- ⁹*Ibid.*, p. 108.
- ¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 120.
- ¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 151.
- ¹²Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 110.
- ¹³Bernard, *The Future of Marriage*, p. 161.
- ¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 174.
- ¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 187.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 235.
- ¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 242.
- ¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 243.
- ¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 246.
- ²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 262.
- ²¹Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), p. 211.
- ²²Bernard, *The Future of Marriage*, p. 76.
- ²³*Ibid.* p. 285.
- ²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 297.
- ²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 301-302.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 303.
- ²⁷Ann Landers, "Why Parents Regret," *The Boston Globe*, March 29, 1976, p. 16.
- ²⁸Bernard, *The Future of Motherhood*, p. 7.
- ²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ³⁰*Ibid.*
- ³¹*Ibid.*, p. 12.
- ³²*Ibid.*, p. 15.
- ³³*Ibid.*, p. 22.
- ³⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 23-34.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 42.
- ³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
- ³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 266.
- ³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 268.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 273-76.
- ⁴¹*Ibid.*, pp. 280-85.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 332.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 335.
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 336-37, 364.



THE THREE R'S AND BEYOND: WHY JILL COMES TUMBLING AFTER

Mary Townsend

In bringing up our children - boys as well as girls - I think we should be enthusiastic about their maleness or femaleness as attributes to be proud of, enjoyed, emphasized, rather than taken for granted or even denied as they so often are today. A boy should know that his father enjoys his company in a special way because they can talk about cars or carpentry or sports. Even a small boy should feel that his mother appreciates his manly help in carrying things for her, opening doors, running errands, fixing things.

A girl needs from her father compliments on the attractiveness of her appearance, or her skill in feminine occupations, and particularly on her thoughtfulness and helpfulness.¹

As a young woman interested in furthering the status of women in our society, I see the above quotation by Dr. Benjamin Spock as degrading and dehumanizing not only for little girls but for little boys as well. Nurturing sex-role identities, in my view, is harmful to both sexes. It may seem incorrect to treat a biological difference as a social factor, but researchers have come to recognize the difficulty in trying to sort out the social aspects of sex-role behavior and the specific genetic differences between male and female.² Before a child knows what the actual biological difference is, he or she is already immersed in the conventional patterns of appropriate sex-role behavior.³ Toys, dress, length of hair, degree of cleanliness, and level of aggressiveness all become part of this early and quite subtle process of role differentiation.⁴

I developed a profound interest in the socialization of women after continually reading statements concerning feminine non-participation in political matters. In his study *Children and Politics*, Fred Greenstein concludes, although politics is not of deep interest to children of either sex, it is more resonant with the natural enthusiasms of boys.⁵ According to Greenstein, boys exceed girls in both information and interest about matters relevant to politics.⁶ As a female who was

politically active and interested as a child, I found these conclusions hard to accept. In November of 1975, I designed a questionnaire designed to measure knowledge in political matters. This questionnaire was administered to eighth grade students at a Lowell Junior High School. My hypothesis was that perceptions of politics as a man's concern would start to diminish because of the Women's Liberation Movement. I was hopeful that boys and girls would possess approximately the same amount of knowledge in political matters. Unfortunately, my findings reinforced the findings of Mr. Greenstein. A portion of my questionnaire is presented below.

When asked, "Who is the Mayor of Lowell?," students responded as follows:

| | Boys | Girls |
|--------------------------|------|-------|
| Gave his correct name | 39% | 24% |
| Never heard of the Mayor | 6% | 10% |
| Cannot think of his name | 50% | 62% |
| *TOTAL | 95% | 96% |

* one girl said "Dukakis"
one boy said "Dukakis"
one boy said "White"

When asked, "Who is the Governor of Massachusetts?" students responded as follows:

| | Boys | Girls |
|-----------------------------|------|-------|
| Gave his correct name | 56% | 33% |
| Never heard of the Governor | 3% | 0% |
| Cannot think of his name | 22% | 62% |
| *TOTAL | 81% | 95% |

* five boys gave incorrect answers
two boys left blank
one girl left blank

A third question dealing with political knowledge is, "Have you heard of the Massachusetts State Legislature?" The results are as follows:

| | Boys | Girls |
|--------|------|-------|
| Yes | 72% | 67% |
| No | 28% | 29% |
| *TOTAL | 100% | 96% |

* one girl left blank

Needless to say, the results of this project were disheartening. Only on the question concerning the Massachusetts State Legislature did the girls' performance come close to the performance of the boys.

After reviewing these findings, I began to ask why I got the results I did. I looked at the two major socializing agencies in our society: the family and the school. Socialization and social control are processes subtle in and of themselves, for they are manifested most often in covert, inarticulated ways.⁷ Not only are they difficult processes to study and define, but they seem inherently antithetical to notions of a free society operating on the basis of free choice.⁸ In her analysis of the process of socializing women, Jo Freeman notes:

We have so thoroughly absorbed our national ideology about living in a "free society" that whatever else we may question... we are reluctant to admit that all societies, ours included, do an awful lot of controlling of everyone's lives. We are even more reluctant to face often subtle ways that our own attitudes and our own lives are being controlled by that same society.⁹

The school, because it reflects the values and norms of the larger society, seems to be a good place to start in trying to understand women's oppression. The book, *And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education*,¹⁰ which I intend to focus on here, shows how sexism is used as a form of social control at all levels in the education of women. In twentieth-century America, education is compulsory for girls as well as boys.¹¹ Because American public schools have been co-educational for more than one hundred years, it has been assumed that they treat boys and girls alike.¹² However, this has not been the case. Girls are rewarded for being obedient, docile, and hardworking, while the old "boys will be boys" philosophy seems to encourage nonconforming behavior from male students.

This collection of essays is concerned with the primary role of education in maintaining sex roles that are restrictive, unjust, and wasteful. The collection shows that women in our culture are educated less seriously, less expensively, and less often than men.¹³

The first article entitled "Why Are There No Women Geniuses?" was written by Anna Garlin Spencer in 1912. According to Ms. Spencer, there are no women geniuses because women have not been given the opportunity for a common school educa-

tion.¹⁴ She advocates equal opportunity for women with men in such areas as education, vocational choice, and in social welcome of their best intellectual work.¹⁵ Ms. Spencer goes on to point out the obstacles to intellectual development and achievement which marriage and maternity interpose. While advocating reforms in the area of education, Ms. Spencer makes no attempt to reform marriage or the woman's role in the family. She sees change coming about solely through education. I see many similarities between Ms. Spencer's thinking and that of Mary Wollstonecraft who championed women's rights in the eighteenth century. Both want equality between the sexes in terms of education. While Spencer acknowledges that women are submerged by the duties of housework and childbearing, she does not seek out alternatives to these barriers. Spencer's analysis is reformist in scope. She sees changes in education as important, but does not advocate changes in the restrictive nature of the role of women.

In a very interesting, more contemporary article entitled, "The Education of Women," Florence Howe proposes changes in the education of women. Dr. Howe, while teaching at an all-girl college, was able to observe first-hand the inadequacies in women's education. As Dr. Howe points out,

Our education is chiefly to blame, but of course after one has said that, one must add at once that education reflects the values of society, and is to a major extent controlled by those values.¹⁶

Dr. Howe and other feminists would argue the purpose of educating women has been to perpetuate their second class status. It is clear that our social order sends girls to college who are generally unconscious of their position in that society.¹⁷ Dr. Howe examines the dual role of womanhood -- marriage or career -- as exemplified in college. The curriculum in college does not help a woman to work out the dual roles she may have to assume, that is, if she is not simply a housewife.

Ms. Howe's emphasis is on reforming the education of women. Unlike Anna Garlin Spencer, Ms. Howe proposes concrete changes in the curriculum of college studies. Although it is not clearly stated in the article, I feel Ms. Howe is not an advocate of equality between the sexes. She is critical of curricula for women that are remarkably similar to those for men. Reforming the college curriculum according to Ms. Howe's philosophy would

make college a preparation for marriage and motherhood. Her reforms seem to follow the "common law of gravity" advocated by Mary Wollstonecraft which assigned to each individual or group an appropriate position in society.¹⁸ While some of Ms. Howe's points are well taken, her assumptions about women will hurt rather than help women's advancement.

In her article, "Do Schools Sell Girls Short?" Betty Levey points out that the conformity for which girls are rewarded may be more harmful in the long run.¹⁹ Levey advocates doing away with rigid sex distinctions so as to make the school experience livelier and more rewarding for all children.²⁰ Ms. Levey points out that schools were not created to change society but rather to maintain and thus keep dominant groups dominant. The patriarchal system is maintained in the school by the double standards set up for girls as opposed to boys. The authority structure of the school also serves to reinforce traditional sex roles. The power structure consists almost exclusively of men. While men serve as principals and superintendents, women make up the largest percentage of classroom teachers.

Ms. Levey sees reform in education coming about first by our realizing that schools mirror the elitism, racism, and sexism of our society.²¹ Efforts to challenge sexism in schools must be perceived as part of a larger and long-range struggle to change the inequalities which schools maintain and perpetuate. Ms. Levey's proposal for social change follows the liberal thinking of Charlotte Gilman. Because she thought the roots of contemporary (nineteenth century) inequality were much deeper than the suffragists realized or would admit, Ms. Gilman believed that the cure required much broader and deeper social change than they wanted.²²

Ms. Levey also advocates use of the small group. Individual teachers should work with other teachers in consciousness-raising groups and sex-role committees in the hope of better understanding ways to combat sexism. This small group emphasis is characteristic of the emerging structure of the women's movement in the last few years which has generally followed a pattern of small project-oriented groups forming communication networks and collective action around specific issues.

In an article entitled "High School Women: Oppression and Liberation," Jenny Bull contends that oppression is a result of the

capitalist system. The high school, the family, and dating practices all reflect on the inequity, competitiveness and lack of concern for others that capitalism thrives on.²³ The author examines the high school from a feminist perspective. While girls are encouraged to enroll in sewing and home economics classes, boys enroll in the more "masculine" subjects such as shop and carpentry. Girls are trained to be "feminine" and dependent, while boys learn independence and initiative.

According to Ms. Bull, the family also serves as an agent of socialization that perpetuates the lowly status of women. In the family a girl is expected to be passive in comparison with her brother. When a high school woman tries to take control of her own life, her attempt is looked at unfavorably by her parents. The woman's role in the family is also seen from the perspective of the mother. According to Ms. Bull, many present day mothers look for their identity in their husband or their children.²⁴

In the dating situation, if a woman is to be successful she must act out the totally feminine role of passivity, while the male acts as the aggressor. Again, according to Ms. Bull, this situation shows how our personal relationships are based on competitiveness, manipulation and ownership, all characteristics of the capitalist system.²⁵

Ms. Bull's solution to the problems she addresses is the small group through which women can come to recognize and deal with their common oppression. This must be done on a personal as well as a political level.

An interesting point raised by the author is that the liberated woman is not a man!²⁶ Very often a woman goes to extremes. She either accepts the notion of intellectual inferiority and oppression as a woman or she tries to think of herself as a man. In doing the latter, the woman is rejecting one false definition of herself only to take on another.²⁷

The article "Teaching is a Good Profession...For a Woman" by Adria Reich was of special interest to me. As an Elementary Education major, I am very concerned with the questions Ms. Reich raises. Early in the essay the author addresses the age-old problem of alternatives for women. In past times a woman was either a nurse or a teacher. At present, more alternatives are open to women, but I maintain the nurse or teacher syndrome is still very real in our society. Teaching when applied to women has been an area that "one could always go back to." Here the assump-

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: RADICAL OR REFORM?

A Critique of *The Politics of Women's Liberation* by Jo Freeman

Susan Landers

In her book, *The Politics of Women's Liberation*,¹ Jo Freeman analyzes the nature and political implications of the women's movement in the United States. Much of her analysis rests on the way she develops the relationship between a social movement and political change. In the process, she raises a number of important questions: When does a social organization become a political organization? When does participation in a social movement lead to participation in a political movement? When does social change become political change? Is the women's movement a revolutionary social movement or a political reform movement? The purpose here is not necessarily to answer these questions, but to present Freeman's perspective and to offer some criticisms of and alternatives to her perspective.

Freeman begins by stating that the term "social movement" is "a rubric for a wide variety of related but not identical social phenomena."² She cites two traditional views of social movements: "The first of these traditions views social movements as a slightly more organized aspect of collective behavior...From this perspective a social movement is a form of elementary collective behavior on a large scale. The other approach sees social movements as merely one way in which interest groups and political parties are formed..."³ One view, therefore, sees social movements merely as collective behavior; the other leads toward a political movement through forming interest groups or political parties.

Upon setting up these two definitions, Freeman points out that there are two branches to the Women's Liberation movement. She describes the "older branch" of the movement as political: "their activities have tended to be concentrated on legal and economic problems."⁴ Their organizations, while varied, are nationwide and include the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC), and Federally Employed Women (FEW). She describes the

"younger branch" as "all mass base and no national organization. It consists of innumerable small groups engaged in a variety of activities, whose contact with one another is at best tenuous."⁵ The identification of the two branches with the appropriate definitions of social movements becomes obvious, the younger branch representing "elementary collective behavior on a large scale," while the older branch represents "the organized aspects of a movement [and] its public program..."⁶

A social movement, according to Gurr, entails a causal sequence of "first the development of discontent, second the politicization of that discontent, and finally its actualization in violent action against political objects and actors."⁷ Freeman uses Gurr's theory of "relative deprivation" to explain the sources of discontent and strain that led to the women's movement: women, finding their lives not in accord with their expectations, felt "relatively deprived" in comparison to their men and their rewards.⁸ But Freeman ignores Gurr's second tenet: the *politicization* of such discontent. Blumer defines a social movement as "a collective enterprise to establish a new order of life."⁹ Other sociologists, historians, and political theorists also agree with Gurr and Blumer that a social movement is by its very definition political.

We must ask, therefore, what is political. As with *social movement*, *politics* has a wide variety of interpretive definitions. Herbert J. Spiro contends "that politics is a debate over the nature of the good life."¹⁰ Hans Morgenthau argues that "politics is a matter of power relations."¹¹ Philip Haring views politics as "care of the community, or the process through which human beings come to recognize their interdependence and to arrange reciprocal relations with one another."¹² Others believe that "politics is active reflection on the human condition."¹³ These are all relatively broad conceptions that put politics and political activity beyond the confines of any existing political system.

Curiously, Freeman does not offer us her definition of what is political. However, it is safe to assume that hers is a relatively narrow definition limiting politics to what occurs in direct relationship to an ongoing political system.

To recapitulate, according to Freeman, a social movement whose social organization (i.e., NOW, FEW, etc.,) addresses itself to one political system is considered a *political* organization, whereas a social organization (i.e., consciousness-raising groups, social service groups) that does not address itself to the political system remains a *social* organization and a *social* movement. Following Freeman, the civil rights movement would be considered political, the Black Panther movement social. The environmental-control movement would be political, but the American Student Movement social. And, as Freeman shows, the older branch of the Women's Liberation movement is labeled political, while the younger branch remains social.

Where has Freeman's analysis led her? Would she deny the political implications of the Black Panthers who sought freedom, full employment, the end to capitalism, decent housing, exemption from military service and the release of black prisoners in all federal, state and local prisons, among other things?¹⁴ Similarly, were not the student activists of the American Student Movement highly political?

Attention must now be focused on the hypothesis that a quasi-class consciousness has emerged among students, facilitated by the enormous concentration of young people in universities and fostered by the general cultural crisis in American society.¹⁵

These movements, however, did not channel their desires through the recognized, existing political system. The reasons for this were simple. "Every demand by the Panthers is a threat to the control the rich have over all of us, and the rich never gave up control without a fight. The Panthers were a revolutionary organization because they were willing to fight to take the power out of the hands of the rich and give the power to the people."¹⁶ It would be foolhardy for the Panthers to propose legislation calling for the abdication of power by those very few who will be passing or rejecting the legislation. Student activists also rejected channelling their demands through the existing political system "primarily because political authority has been substantially delegitimated and institutional authority has been

unable to accommodate the cultural aspirations of many students and young people."¹⁷

Now then, how does social change become political change? Freeman has a lengthy explanation as to how social change is converted to political change within the American political system: "1) the American political system encompasses the potential for new elements as well as the reality of established ones; 2) these new elements, while they form in varying ways, usually involve what is commonly labeled as 'disorderly' behavior; 3) such behavior, rather than taking place outside the normal limits of political action, is part and parcel of the American political process; 4) the existence of such 'disorderly behavior' is not a sign of systemic dysfunction but is necessary to keep it effectual; 5) such behavior is as rational and instrumental for its participants, within the context in which they must operate, as most other forms of more traditional political behavior."¹⁸

This is Freeman's ideological framework. It is one of "Natural Liberalism,"¹⁹ of Reformism.²⁰ It is the traditional and pervasive ideology in American political thought. It is all-encompassing and allows no room for alternatives to the existing political system. It is trapped in "irrational Lockianism."²¹ This "Americanism" is apparent throughout American history. As radical social and political movements appeared, just enough legislation was passed to appease and diffuse the movement's participants, leaving the movement's ultimate goals far from realization. A classic example is the Progressive Movement. The reform legislation "prevented socialism from challenging its Liberal Reform in any effective way, and at the same time it enslaved its Liberal Reform to the Alger dream of democratic capitalism."²²

The question then becomes: Can a political system incorporate radical social and political change without threat to its political structure? Freeman and other American social scientists would answer "yes". But the Black Panthers, student activists, and the younger branch of the women's movement would argue that such change cannot be incorporated without threat to the existing political structure. Thus radical movements must operate outside established channels. Throughout Freeman's book there are attempts to undermine radical goals.

But movements that hold steadfast to their radical goals and disdain political participation of any kind in an "evil" system often find themselves isolated in a splendid ideo-

logical purity which gains nothing for anyone.²³

Freeman refuses to acknowledge that participation within a radical movement and its organizations is political.

While refusing to acknowledge that the younger branch of the women's movement is political, Freeman further denies that it is truly radical. She sees no severe ideological difference between the two branches of the movement. She writes of the growing "radicalization" of NOW: "what began as a debate within the radical underground feminist media eventually emerges as a NOW resolution."²⁴ NOW transforms the radical branch's issues and interpretations into resolutions and eventually into legislation that is processed into a political system that directly contradicts those new issues and interpretations.

As the younger branch is depicted through Freeman's chapter on small groups, its ideology emerges along with Freeman's inability to recognize that ideology as political or radical. In keeping with her own ideological and conceptual framework, Freeman views the younger movement's organizations as social rather than political.

Given its decentralized, segmentary, reticulate nature, the younger branch of the movement can best be described as a social system rather than a political organization.²⁵

Because our political system no longer values decentralization as once it did (Jefferson's ward system was a significant contribution to our founding system of government), it is not viewed as a political concept. And thus Freeman denies decentralization its political import. Freeman goes on to say that the younger movement is social rather than political

as an inevitable consequence of the values, assumptions, and experiences that they brought with them. The values came largely from the radical movement's interpretation of basic American concerns. Their concepts of participatory democracy, equality, liberty and community...²⁶

Yet these "basic American concerns" are not social concerns, but political concerns. Implementing these concerns into their organizations makes the organizations of the younger branch not social but political organizations. Members' hostility and rejection of commercial media could also be interpreted as poli-

tical. So could charging women \$.50 and men \$1.00 for copies of *Notes from the first year*, a feminist newsletter. As Freeman explains, if men had women buy the newsletter for them, it became "a form of political education to demonstrate to men and women the discomforts of having to go through someone else to fulfill one's desires or needs."²⁷

Caroline Bird regards the small groups of the women's movement in quite a different light than Freeman. She views the consciousness-raising groups as the mechanisms for revolution. She mentions that the Chinese Communists originated the consciousness-raising groups in an effort "to get down-trodden Chinese peasants to recognize their oppression."²⁸ She believes that the Women's Liberation movement "isn't really a movement; it's a state of mind. The secret strength of the Movement is that this state of mind propagates itself by contagion.... Revolutions are supposed to spread that way that spread early Christianity around the Mediterranean basin, or if that analogy shocks your religious sensibilities, the way mutiny spread through the Czar's army."²⁹ Bird contends that as women begin expressing their personal problems within the small group, "it becomes obvious that they (women's problems) are political, the consequences of a power structure, and hence a political system..."³⁰

Michael Useem, referring to the Anti-War Movement, sees its survival contingent upon the socializing of new individuals. "The radical character of the movement may survive if socializing processes lead to effective integration of the newcomers...the newcomers experience a transformation in their social and political identity."³¹ This is a primary function of the consciousness-raising groups, to transform a woman's social and political identity, thereby maintaining and perpetuating its radical ideology and goals.

Freeman maintains that the younger branch of the women's liberation movement is an apolitical social movement whose organizations are social in the collective sense of the word. Bird and others would argue that the younger branch is a revolutionary political movement. The discrepancy arises from recognizing in the latter case, and not recognizing in the former, the younger movement's ideology. This ideology presumes that the "personal is political,"³² causes its followers to practice "participatory democracy, equality, liberty, and community"³³ in their organizations, and supports the goals of abolition of

patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism.³⁴

Freeman's attempt to unite the two branches of the movement seems futile once one recognizes the radical nature of the younger branch's ideology. In the American political system, a radical movement must participate and organize outside of that system for its radical goals to be realized. As Freeman herself admits:

once a social movement enters the political realm...it is usually constrained by the limitations of that realm. There already exist many concrete, accepted 'rules of the game' which newcomers are expected to abide by. These rules are manifested not only in norms of behavior but in the very institutions which govern the system and manage conflicts within it.³⁵

The younger branch of the movement doesn't want to play by the "rules of the game." They want to change the rules — and the game.

Footnotes

¹(New York: David McKay Co., 1975).

²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

³*Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁷Robert Evans, *Social Movements: A Reader and Sourcebook* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1973), p. 4.

⁸Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970).

⁹Lewis M. Killian, "Social Movements," *Handbook of Modern Sociology*, ed. Robert E. L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1964), 426-55.

¹⁰Michael Weinstein, *The Political Experience* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), p. 83.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Terry Cannon, "Black Panther Party Program: What We Want, What We Believe," *Social Movements*, ed. Evans, p. 401.

¹⁵Milton Mankoff and Richard Flacks, "The Changing Social Base of the American Student Movement," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 395 (May 1971), 54-67.

¹⁶Cannon, p. 401.

¹⁷Mankoff and Flacks.

¹⁸Freeman, pp. 2-3.

¹⁹Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1955), p. 15.

²⁰Charlotte Bunch, "The Reform Tool Kit," *Quest*, I (Summer 1974), 37-51.

²¹Hartz, p. 15.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 228.

²³Freeman, p. 6.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 99.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 104.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 105.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁸Caroline Bird with Sara Welles Briller, *Born Female* (rev. ed.; New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. 216.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 215-16.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 217.

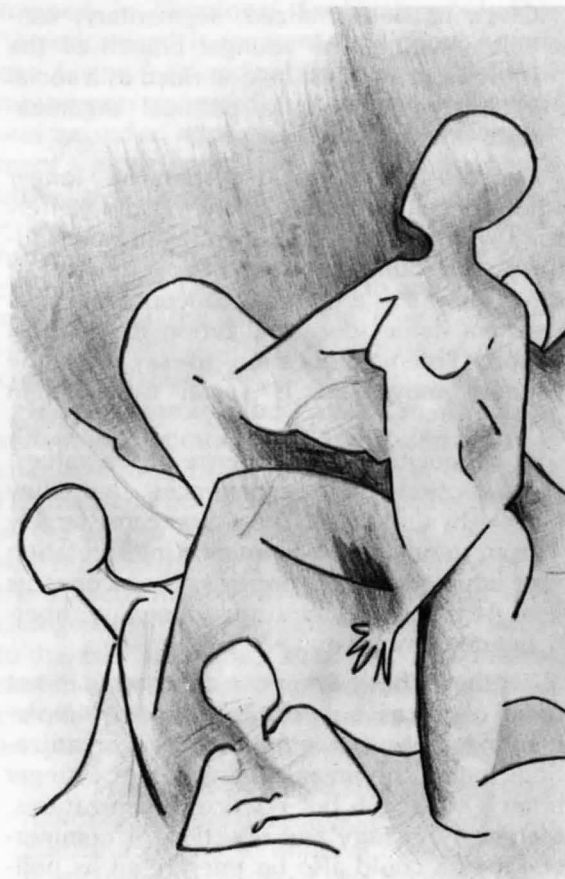
³¹Michael Useem, "Ideological and Interpersonal Change in the Radical Protest Movement," *Social Problems*, 19 (1972), 451-69.

³²Freeman, p. 139.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 105.

³⁴Nancy Hartsock, "Political Change: Two Perspectives on Power," *Quest*, I (Summer 1974), 10-25.

³⁵Freeman, p. 5.



READER SURVEY

INSTRUCTIONS

This is a survey designed to obtain your personal opinions on various topics related to contemporary social issues. Read each question carefully and answer it as truthfully as possible. Do not consult anyone else while you are filling out the form.

Answer all questions. Try not to write down what you think we might want or what you think sounds good. The success of the survey depends on the honesty of your responses.

Do not sign your name on the answer sheet.

Thank you for your participation and co-operation.

Maria Scimone
Patricia Senecal

To indicate your responses, mark an X or X's in the appropriate boxes.

1. What age do you consider most appropriate for marriage?

- | MEN | WOMEN | | |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. under 21 | a. under 21 | a. <input type="checkbox"/> | a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. 21-25 | b. 21-25 | b. <input type="checkbox"/> | b. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. 25-30 | c. 25-30 | c. <input type="checkbox"/> | c. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. over 30 | d. over 30 | d. <input type="checkbox"/> | d. <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Should family planning and birth control programs be implemented throughout the nation?

☐yes ☐no

3. Should family planning and birth control programs be instituted throughout

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. Health center programs | a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. The school systems | b. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. other (specify) | c. _____ |

4. Do you favor:

(Mark with numbers according to priorities)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. family planning programs | a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. birth control orientation programs | b. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. complete legalization of abortion | c. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. vasectomy | d. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. tubal ligation | e. <input type="checkbox"/> |

5. Should young people (under 18) be able to practice birth control

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. with parent approval | a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. without parent approval | b. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. under no circumstances | c. <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. Should young people (under 18) get abortions

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. with parent approval | a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. without parent approval | b. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. under no circumstances | c. <input type="checkbox"/> |

7. What is your opinion regarding pre-marital sex?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| a. strongly in favor. | a. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. in favor under certain circumstances | b. <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. strongly opposed | c. <input type="checkbox"/> |

8. Who should be responsible for birth control?
- a. the woman
 - b. the man
 - c. both
 - d. I am opposed to any form
9. What do you feel is the ideal number of children?
- a. 1-2
 - b. 3-4
 - c. 5 or more.
 - d. 0
10. Where do you feel the responsibility for child care should be?
- a. solely with the mother
 - b. solely with the father
 - c. jointly shared
 - d. better left to professionals
11. Should day-care centers for preschool children be available at public cost, as our schools are? yes ☐ no ☐
12. Who should have responsibility for household chores?
- a. woman only
 - b. man only
 - c. whoever wishes to
 - d. equally shared
13. Whose responsibility is it to financially support the household?
- a. man's
 - b. woman's
 - c. whoever wishes to
 - d. shared equally
14. Should divorce be as easily obtainable and as inexpensive as a marriage license? yes ☐ no ☐
15. Who do you feel has more advantages, either implied or real, in American society today?
- a. men
 - b. women
 - c. neither
16. Do you sympathize with the objectives and ideas of the Women's Movement?
- a. completely
 - b. partially
 - c. opposed
17. Do you believe that a capitalist society such as exists in America today
- a. supports the goals of the Women's Movement
 - b. is a hindrance to the goals of the Women's Movement

Personal Information

1— Sex

- ☐ male
- ☐ female

2— Age

- ☐ between 18-20
- ☐ between 21-25
- ☐ between 26-30
- ☐ between 31-40
- ☐ between 41-50
- ☐ between 51-60
- ☐ over 60.

3— Marital status

- ☐ single
- ☐ married
- ☐ separated
- ☐ divorced

4— College status

- ☐ student
- ☐ staff
- ☐ faculty

5— College affiliation

- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health Professions
- ☐ Liberal Arts
- ☐ Management Science
- ☐ Music
- ☐ Pure and Applied Sciences

6— Would you consider yourself basically:

- ☐ conservative
- ☐ liberal

7— Do you consider yourself basically:

- ☐ socialist
- ☐ anarchist
- ☐ liberal
- ☐ communist
- ☐ conformist
- ☐ non-conformist
- ☐ none of the above

After completing the survey, please clip and drop in designated boxes in south campus bookstore, or send to:

NEW LOWELL OFFERING
Mail Room
South Campus
Dugan Hall

